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R 011627Z AUG 73 FM AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4988 INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES CINCSO

CONFIDENTIAL MONTEVIDEO 2362

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PINT, UY

SUBJECT: OPPOSITION MANEUVERS

CINCSO FOR POLAD

- 1. SUMMARY. ANTI-ADMINISTRATION OPPOSITION IS BECOMING MORE VOCAL. THE LEFT CONTINUES ITS PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN AND ITS AGITATION AMONG STUDENT AND LABOR GROUPS. DEMOCRATIC POLITICIANS, PESSIMISTIC OVER THE POSSIBILITY OF SOON ENDING MILITARY INFLUENCE, HAVE BEGUN TO CONCENTRATE THEIR EFFORTS AGAINST BORDABERRY. NEVERTHELESS, A JULY GALLUP POLL SHOWS PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE CLOSING OF THE CONGRESS, THE OUTLAWING OF THE CNT LABOR CONFEDERATION AND OPPOSITION TO THE RECENT GENERAL STRIKE. END SUMMARY.
- 2. VICE PRESIDENT JORGE SAPELLI, IN DELPHIC STATEMENT RELEASED TO THE PRESS JULY 28, NOTED THAT "NOW, AS AT ANY MONEMT, I AM PREPARED TO COLLABORATE WITH THE COUNTRY TO THE EXTENT OF MY CAPACITY AND MY ENERGIES IN ORDER TO ASSURE A RETURN TO NORMAL AND LEGAL PROCESSES THAT INCLUDE THE FREE EXPRESSION AND CONFIDENTIAL

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PARTICIPATION OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES". SAPELLI ALSO DENIED "ANY PARTICIPATION IN RECENT EVENTS" AND NOTED THAT HIS LOYALTY WAS TO "THE NATION AS A WHOLE AND THE CONSTITITON" (A NOTICEABLE OMISSION BEING ANY EXPRESSION OF LOYALTY TO PRESDIENT

BORDABERRY). SAPELLI EXPLAINED HIS STATEMENT AS A REPLY TO VARIOUS AND CONTRADICTORY RUMORS REGARDING HIS ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRESIDENCY OF THE YET UNNAMED COUNCIL OF STATE.

- 3. A WELL-INFORMED POLITICIAN TOLD EMBASSY OFFICERS JULY 30 THAT SAPELLI'S STATEMENT, FOR ALL ITS AMBIGUITY, MEANS THAT THE VICE PRESIDENT WILL NOT ACCEPT A POSITION ON THE COUNCIL. SOURCE, A BLANCO PARTY LEADER WHO WAS UNTIL RECENTLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE BORDABERRY ADMINISTRATION, NOTED THAT SAPELLI'S PRESS STATEMENT IS PART OF AN EFFORT BY VARIOUS TRADITIONAL POLITICAL GROUPS TO DISASSOCIATE THEMSELVES FROM THE ADMINISTRATION'S ACTIONS. SOURCE AND A NUMBER OF OTHER RELIABLE CONTACTS HAVE STATED THAT EMBRYONIC DEMOCRATIC FRONT COMPOSED OF A NUMBER OF PROMINENT POLITICIANS FROM THE COLORADY PARTY (ESPECIALLY JORGE BATLLE'S LIST 15 FACTION) AND FROM CONSERVATIVE BLANCO PARTY GROUPS (INCLUDING SUPPORTERS OF WASHINGTON BELTRAN AND THE HERRERRA-HEBER GROUP) WILL SHORTLY ISSUE THEIR OWN DECLARATION CALLING FOR THE EARLY RESTORATION OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. FORMER MINISTER OF DEFENSE, ARMANDO MALET, ALSO IS CONTINUING HIS EFFORTS TO "MEDIATE" BETWEEN THE POLITICIANS AND MILITARY (SEE MONTEVIDEO 2106 AND MONTEVIDEO 2147). MALET IS TELLING POLITICIANS THAT HE IS IN CONTACT WITH RETIRED GENERAL CESAR MARTINEZ (FORMER AGDY COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF) AND "OTHER" ACTIVE DUTY OFFICERS, AND MALET IS TRYING TO FORM A "SHADOW" COUNCIL OF STATE AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO BORDABERRY'S EFFORTS.
- 4. SOURCE STATED THAT SAPELLI, MALET AND DEMOCRATIC FRONT EMBOLDENED BY BORDABERRY'S CONTINUED FAILURE TO ATTRACT DISTINGUISHED MEMBERSHIP TO THE NEW COUNCIL OF STATE. HOWEVER, DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT IT CAN OBTAIN RESTORATION OF CONGRESS AND POLITICAL RIGHTS AT THIS TIME, AND SOURCE DISCOUNTED MALET EFFORT AS NOT VERY "SERIOUS". RATHER, PURPOSE OF THEIR EFFORT, AS EXPLAINED BY OUR SOURCE, IS TO CONTINUE TO ATTACK PRESIDENT BORDABERRY'S LEADERSHIP WHICH IS BELIEVED TO BE MOST VULNERABLE TARGET OF CURRENT MILITARY RULE. THEIR BELIEF IS THAT SITUATION MUST "GET WORSE BEFORE IT GETS BETTER": THOUGH MILITARY HAS POWER, IT MUST ALSO CONFIDENTIAL

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HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR GOVERNMENT IF PUBLIC CRITICISM OF ARMED FORCES' POLITICAL ROLE IS TO BE GENERATED. DEMOCRATIC FRONT'S OBJECTIVE IS TO SPEED UP PROCESS OF MILITARY ASSUMING OPEN RULE. HOPE THEN IS THAT MILITARY WILL BE UNPREPARED FOR FULL RESPONSIBILITY OF GOVERNMENT AND WILL, IN TIME, BE FORCED TO TURN AGAIN TO POLITICIANS IN ORDER TO GOVERN THE COUNTRY.

5. IN FLY SHEETS DISTRIBUTED IN MONTEVIDEO, BANNED CNT LABOR CONFEDERATIOCPIS CALLING FOR A GENERAL STRIKE AUGUST 2 TO PROTEST NEW UNION LAW WHICH GOVERNMENT IS EXPECTED TO DECREE THIS WEEK. OPENING OF MONTEVIDEO PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS ON JULY 30 ALSO OCCASION FOR DISTRIBUTION OF ANTI-ADMINISTRATION STATEMENTS.

6. JOINT MILITARY/POLICE COMMAND, IN COMMUNIQUE ISSUED JULY 30, WARNS OF NEW "SUBVERSIVE" EFFORTS TO PROVOKE "STRIKES, ASSASSINATIONS AND DEMONSTRATIONS".

7. ALTHOUGH MANY POLITICIANS, ALL OF WHOM WERE PERSONALLY AND ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY RECENT EVENTS, OPPOSE THE ADMINISTRATION'S MOVES, PUBLIC OPINION SOUNDINGS INDICATE THAT THE POPULACE IS RESIGNED TO OR EVEN APPROVES THEM. THE JULY GALLUP POLL SHOWS THAT 46 PERCZAT OF THOSE QUERIED APPROVED THE CLOSING OF THE CONGRESS, AS AGAINST 32 PERCENT OPPOSED. 55 PERCENT FELT THAT THE JUNE 27-JULY 12 GENERAL STRIKES CALLED BY THE COMMUNIST-LED CNT LABOR CONFEDERATION WAS UNJUSTIFIED. WHILE ONLY 26 PERCENT SUPPORTED IT. AND 48 PERCENT ANSWERED THAT THE EXECUTIVE WAS JUSTIFIED IN DISSOLVING THE CNT BECAUSE OF THE STRIKE, WHILE 29 PERCENT WERE AGAINST THIS ACTION. THE GALLUP POLL LARGELY REFLECTS URBAN MONTEVIDEO OPINION WHICH IS MORE LIKELY THAN THE CONSERVATIVE INTERIOR TO BE CRITICAL OF THE EXECUTIVE'S RECENT ACTIONS, AND THUS NATION-WIDE SUPPORT FOR THE RECENT ACTIONS IS PROBABLY UNDERSTATED. NEVERTHELESS. THE POLL DOES ALSO INDICATE SOME PUBLIC MISGIVINGS: 30 PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS FELT THAT THE DISSOLVED CONGRESS WAS A BETTER INSTRUMENT TO PREPARE ANY CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM, WHILE 29 PERCENT FAVORED THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

8. COMMENT: AUGUST 2 GENERAL STRIKE'S SUCCESS OR FAILURE WILL DEPEND ON INTERRUPTION OF PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION. WE DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT STRIKE LIKELY TO BE SUCCESSUL AS STRIKE LEADERS CONFIDENTIAL

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ARE STILL SALVING WOUNDS FROM UNSUCCESSFUL JUNE 27 - JULY 12 EFFORT. NEVERTHELESS, SAPELLI'S STATEMENT AND THAT SOON TO BE RELEASED BY DEMOCRATIC FRONT ARE INDICATIVE OF OPPOSITION THAT THE DMINISTRATION, AND IN PARTICULAR BORDABERRY, IS LIKELY TO FACE IN COMING MONTHS. HAVING BEEN UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO CO-OPT TRADITIONAL POLITICAL SECTORS INTO THE ADMINISTRATION, THE PRESIDENT NOW APPEARS DESTINED TO HAVE TO FACE THEIR CONTINUED OPPOSITION. EFFORTS BY TRADITIONAL POLITICIANS IN DEMOCRATIC FRONT, EVEN WITHOUT FORMAL COOPERATION, ALSO CLOSELY PARALLEL THOSE OF WILSON FERREIRA ALDUNATE'S SUPPORTERS AND THE "FRENTE AMPLIO". BUT THE THREAT FROM TRADITIONAL POLITICAL SECTOR, AS THEY CANDIDLY ACKNOWLEDGE, IS LONG TERM ONE WHICH ALLOWS BORDABERRY AND/OR MILITARY TIME TO ESTABLISH IF THEY CAN SUCCEED IN RESTORING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. ORTIZ

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